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To safeguard national interests to the last, at the same time, to co-operate with every country concerned.

The first voice of YOSHIZAWA, the Foreign Minister, clarifying the direction of the Imperial foreign policy.

#### Causes of the Manchurian Incidents

Among all the diplomatic affairs, what was the most important and at the same time shocked the people throughout the world was, of course, the Manchurian Incident.

Originally as China is the neighbor of our country, it is only natural that she has great bearings on our country in relation with politics, economics and social conditions, so that it goes without saying that the shift of maintaining peace in Manchuria will bear an extremely pressing influence over our country.

In addition to this Japan has in Manchuria and Mongolia more than a million residents and has many an important national interest included in the treaties or contracts as to the leased territory, railways, coal mines and so on. But there have frequently

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been occurring incidents showing that the Chinese officials in recent years, utterly disregarding the history that Manchuria has been established as it is solely owing to the efforts of Japan, and also getting too familiar with the lenient attitude on the part of Japan, persecuted the Japanese nationals and trampled down our rights and interests of the treaties and contracts. Despite the fact that our country time and again made strong protests against them, we have hardly gained any practical effects upon the situation. And at the time when the feelings of our people as well as the government were increasingly being stimulated, the case of blasting railway happened to take place on the night of September 18, causing collision between the Japanese and the Chinese soldiers. With the situation developed, the political situations in Manchuria also changed. Their details were as you know.

Because not only Manchuria can be called as the key of peace maintenance in the Far East but also has immeasurable interests for our country, we have so far been making utmost efforts in preventing the possible repercussions into Manchuria of the civil wars in China-proper. If there were no illegal conducts on the part of China as have been in recent years, and rights and interests of our country of the treaties

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and contracts were being respected, I believe that even if there had happened the incident of 18 September, we would never have seen such a dispute as in these days. As aforementioned the peace in Manchuria has chiefly been maintained by our country, and I think that the responsibility of our country for the matter will never be reduced, if aggravated, for the future. A word which I have to say here is that Japan has no territorial design on Manchuria, and also it is a matter of course that Japan respects the principles of "open door" and "equal opportunity", much more the treaties that are now existing. What Japan is calling for to Manchuria and Mongolia is to turn those areas into a safe place for both the Japanese and foreigners by securing peace and by pushing industrial development.

Anti-Japanese movement rooted in domestic administration.

Reviewing state of affairs in China-proper, the anti-Japanese movement is that which has almost continually been conducted for the past many years, and even if it might seem somewhat relaxed for a time, the movement would all of a sudden come back again violently. Moreover, in reality there are, meanwhile, not a few who are turning the Anti-Japanese movement into commercial

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occupation. It is our great regret that since the outbreak of the Manchurian Incident last fall the movement again became extremely serious and many a violent and outrageous case occurred. Despite the fact that Japan has been giving complete protection to the Chinese nationals residing in Japan, our fellow country-men in China are being maltreated beyond description.

This is too sharp a contrast. Originally it goes without saying that the anti-Japanese movement in China is based upon the internal administration there, and I believe that the anti-Japanese attitude of officials in Manchuria before the outbreak of the Manchurian Incident, was also based on it. In short it is an undeniable fact that a civil war or strife between parties in China had a great bearing over her foreign relations, and that because of Japan being her neighbor Japan has been affected most among powers.

#### The Manchurian Incident and the League of Nations.

The Manchurian Incident has given a considerable shock to the General Assembly and the Council of the League of Nations which were in session at Geneva, and as the representative of China on 21 September requested to deliberate the case at the Council in accordance with the 11th Article of the

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Covenant of the League of Nations, the problem has been formally brought before the Council for deliberation. It is a well-known fact that since then the Council of the League has been in session three times to deliberate the case and made decisions twice. On the other hand the United States of America, though not a member of the League, has generally been getting along with the League, and it is probably because she has a great concern over the situations in the Far East as one of those countries that signed the Anti-War Treaty and the Nine-Power Treaty. The Imperial Government has always been making clear her standpoint regarding the Manchurian Incident to the United States as well as to the League of Nations. Although it could not be said that there had never occurred any delicate situations at any time in relation with the League and the United States of America during the period of the Incident, we have been always trying to negotiate with them sincerely and politely, to clarify our standpoint and to get a clear understanding as to our rights and interests, leading them gradually to understand our attitude. It is to our satisfaction that the Soviet Union has ever been maintaining the attitude of neutrality and non-interference during the Manchurian Incident.

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Exh, NO

あくまで權益を擁護、同時に各國と協力 東朝、昭七、一、二二二  
帝國外交の方針を宣明せる芳澤外相の第一聲明

### 滿洲事變の原因

外交案件中我國にとりもつとも重要にして同時に世界の耳目を衝動したものは申すまでもなく滿洲事變であります。元來支那は我隣邦たる關係上我國にとり政治上、經濟上及社會上頗る重要な關係を有する次第で滿洲における治安の消長が我が國に對し極めて緊切なる影響を與ふことは論を俟たざる所であります。加之日本は滿洲及蒙古に於て百萬以上の居留民を有し、又租借地、鐵道、炭坑等に關し條約上乃至契約上幾多の重要な權益を有して居ります。即ち近年支那官憲は滿洲が日本の勢力に依り今日あるを得たる歴史を無視し我方の寛大なる態度に愧れて帝國臣民を迫害し、我條約上の權利、利益を蹂躪したる實例頻々として起り我國は之に對し屢々抗議を提出し警告を與へたのであります。が、ほとんど何等の効果なく我朝野の感情漸く刺戟せられたる際偶々九月十八日夜、鐵道爆破事件が突發して日支兵の衝突となり事態發展して滿洲に於ける政情も亦一變するに至つた。願末は既に御承知の通りであります。

滿洲は極東治安の關けんとも稱し得るのみならず、我國としては絶大な權益を有するが故に従來支那本部における内亂の滿洲に波及せんとし

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たる場合我國は極力之が防止に努力しました。若し近年に於けるが如く支那側の不法行爲なく我邦の條約上乃至契約上の權利にして尊重せられてゐたならば、假令九月十八日の事件があるにしても、今日の如き紛争をみることはなかつたものと信じます。前述の如く過去に於ける滿洲の治安は主として我國により維持せられたのでありますが將來に於てはこの點に關する我國の責任は加重するも輕減することはないと考ふるのであります。こゝに一言を要するのは、日本は滿洲に於て領土的企圖を有するものではありません。又既存の諸條約は申すに及ばず門戶解放機會均等の主義を尊重することも勿論であります。日本の滿蒙に對して要望する所は同地方の治安の確保及び經濟的開發によつて内外人安住の地となることに存する次第であります。

#### 内政に基く排日

纏つて支那本部の状況を見まするに排日運動は過去多年に亘り殆んど繼續的に行はれて來たものであつて或は一時緩和することがあつても忽ちにして再び猛烈深刻なる状態を呈する次第であります。尙其の間排日を以て營利的職業となすものすら少からざる實情にあります。然るに昨秋滿洲事變發生以來同運動は又復非常に險惡なる情勢を示し幾多の暴虐なる所爲發生したるは甚だ遺憾とせざるを得ませぬ。日本はその領土内において支那人に對し完全保護を與へてゐるに拘らず支那における我同胞

が名狀すべからざる虐待を受けつゝある事は非常に懸隔せる對照であります。由來支那における排日運動は内政關係に基くものある次第は申上ぐるまでもない所でありまして滿洲事變發生以前に於ける同地方官憲の排日態度等も亦同様の事情によるものがあつたことゝ信じます。之を要するに内亂若しくは黨派間の争闘なるものが、支那の對外關係に多大の影響を及ぼした事は否認し難い事實であつて我日本は支那の隣國たるが爲列國中最も大なる影響を蒙りつゝある次第であります。

#### 事變と國際聯盟

滿洲事變は當時壽府に開催中の國際聯盟總會及び理事會にかなりの衝動を與へましたが、支那代表は九月二十一日聯盟規約第十一條に基いて本件を理事會の問題として審議を要求したのでこゝに本問題は正式に聯盟理事會の審査に付せらるゝことゝなつた次第であります。以來聯盟理事會は本件審議の爲三回の會議を重ね、前後二回の決議を採擇するに至つた次第は、既に世間周知の事實であります。又一萬米國政府は國際聯盟の一員ではありませぬが、大体に於て聯盟側と歩調を合せて來た次第でありましてこれは不戰條約及び九國條約の締約國の一として極東の事態に付多大の關心を有したるが爲と思はれます。帝國政府は聯盟に對しましても米國に對しましても常に滿洲事變に關する我方の立場を明らかにして來たのであります。今回の事變中對聯盟並

に對米國の關係に於て時に機微にわたるが如き狀況の發生を見たことがないでもありませぬが、我々は常に懇切丁寧にこれと折衝を重ね、我立場を明らかにし我權益に關する諒解を明らかにせむるに努めましたので、兩者共に漸次我方の態度を了解して來た次第であります。將又滿洲事變に際し、ソヴェト聯邦政府が中立不干渉の態度を持して變らざることは帝國政府の満足をする所であります。